/110 cont./
231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]
[171]

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/," Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^{w}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
[462] and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can [191] only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul^{c}wân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal 241 expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational 441 practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms

• 237

/163 cont./

241 441 237 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking because, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal manure [675] not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of transhumance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral decision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magistrate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the ancestral custom.

691 692 239 427 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of citations from ᶜAmal, came to establish that the first demand was unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) because such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity, which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand, cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 24 [191] Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of [342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles before the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field: so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.

241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

241
237
343
/164 cont./
When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual appurtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245
824
At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

245
233